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FROM *GERMANIA SLAVICA* TO *SLAVIA GERMANICA*?

The territories of East Central Europe with a historical German-Polish overlap have been object of intense historiographical debates, based either on confrontation or cooperation. With regard to medieval history of the region, the term *Germania Slavica*¹ has been established during the last decades with a focus on mutual national relations, on cohabitation between ethno-cultural substratum and immigrants, and on acculturation as well as fencing-off. As these aspects of various forms of national interactions can also be connected to (almost) the same region since the end of the Second World War, the opposed term of *Slavia Germanica*² may be applied as well. Whereas the first concept refers to the «Germanisation» of Slavic regions, the second notion points at an opposite development as the «Polonization» of former German regions. Here, the epistemological potential of the latter notion shall be discussed. For this purpose, first a historiographical overview of the development of research on *Germania Slavica* will be presented, before such historiographical approaches will be examined, which can be subsumed under the concept of *Slavia Germanica*.

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The history of the German-Slavic overlap in East Central Europe has been subject of intensive historiographical discussions since the late 18th century³. Among the first historians to

¹ See as introduction: Lübke C. *Germania Slavica* // *Deutsche und Polen: Geschichte, Kultur, Politik* / Ed. by A. Lawaty and H. Orłowski. München, 2003 (Beck'sche Reihe. Vol. 1517). P. 26–33; *Auf dem Weg zum Germania Slavica-Konzept: Perspektiven von Geschichtswissenschaft, Archäologie, Onomastik und Kunstgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* / Ed. by S. Brather, C. Kratzke. Leipzig, 2005 (GWZO-Arbeitshilfen. Vol. 3).

² Briefly addressed in: Lübke C. *Germania Slavica*... P. 30.

³ Aspects of this article have been discussed earlier in: Hackmann J., Lübke C. *Die mittelalterliche Ostsiedlung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft* // *Historiographical Approaches to Medieval Colonization of East Central Europe. A Comparative Analysis Against the Background of Other European Inter-ethnic Colonization Processes in the Middle Ages* / Ed. by J. M. Piskorski. Boulder, CO, 2002 (East European Monographs. Vol. 611). P. 179–217; Hackmann J. 1) German

note the medieval contacts between Germans and the neighbouring ethnic groups was August Ludwig Schlözer. In his history of the Germans in Transylvania, he already discussed issues of cultural transfer and the relation between colonizers and local populations, including possible social tensions resulting from lacking amalgamation or acculturation⁴. Different from Schlözer's perspective, Johann Gottfried Herder at the same time developed his influential image of peaceful Slavian agrarian colonists as a model for the future development of mankind, who had been subjugated, however, by aggressive nations, with the Germans in first row⁵. The renowned description has served during the 19th century as folio for self-identifications by many Slavic and Baltic nations as well as by Germans citing historical rights to rule over Polish territories, in particular after the Napoleonic era.

The following historiographical debates on the German-Slavic overlap then were closely interconnected: German authors like Johannes Voigt and Gustav Harald Adolf Stenzel⁶ claimed that the former Baltic and Slavic territories were predestined for German rule and that the indigenous groups had disappeared under the pressure of the Teutonic Order or German colonists. Actually, historians did not really care about, how the cultural change towards new social groups dominated by German language took place, whether this was a result of forced repulsion or of lengthy acculturation processes. They rather focused on the result, as ideal-typically addressed by Colmar Grünhagen: «How did Silesia become German and remain German?»⁷ In the light of the debates regarding the inclusion of Bohemian and Polish territories at the German national assembly in the Paulskirche in 1848, such perspectives received immediate political relevance, legitimizing German rule over these territories.

In opposition to such Germano-centric perspectives, Czech, Polish and Jewish writers started to challenge these German perspectives and to criticize a «German Drang nach Osten», which shaped debates on Eastern Europe for more than a century⁸. Furthermore Slavic his-

East or Polish West? Historiographical Discourses on the German-Polish Overlap between Confrontation and Reconciliation // Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts. Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe / Ed. by T. Frank and F. Hadler. Basingstoke, 2010 (Writing the Nation. Vol. 6). P. 92–124; 2) Die symbolische Aneignung historischer Räume im östlichen Preußen. Nationale und regionale Strategien // Contact Zones in the Historical Area of East Prussia / Ed. by V. Safronovas and K. Richter. Klaipėda, 2015 (Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis. Vol. 30). P. 170–188.

⁴ Schlözer A. L. v. Kritische Sammlungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Köln, 1779. P. 164–166, 379–380 (1st ed. — Göttingen, 1795–1797).

⁵ Herder J. G. Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit von Johann Gottfried Herder. Vierter Theil. Riga; Leipzig, 1792. Book 16. Ch. 4. On Herder see: Sundhaussen H. Der Einfluss der Herderschen Ideen auf die Nationsbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburger Monarchie. München, 1973.

⁶ Voigt J. Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergang der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens. Königsberg, 1827–1839. Vol. 2. P. ix–x; Stenzel G. A. H. Geschichte des preußischen Staats. Theil 1: Vom Jahre 1191 bis 1640. Hamburg, 1830. P. 73–82.

⁷ Grünhagen C. Geschichte Schlesiens. Gotha, 1884 (Allgemeine Staatengeschichte, Abt. 3: Deutsche Landesgeschichten. Vol. 2). P. ix.

⁸ Klaczko J. Die deutschen Hegemonen. Offenes Sendschreiben an Herrn Georg Gervinus. Berlin, 1849; Meyer H. C. Drang nach Osten. Fortunes of a Slogan-concept in German-Slavic Relations,

torians, beginning with Pavel Jozef Šafárik, started researching the historical expansion of the Slavs towards the West. Dominik Szulc, for instance, intended «to fight the [German, JH] literary attack with its own weapon and in its own forge»⁹ and to show that the region between the mouths of Odra and Vistula was originally inhabited by the predecessors of Poles, who at the same time introduced civilization, and not German settlers and knights. Wojciech Kętrzyński took up Szulc's national impulse, arguing that the Slavic population of Prussia was indigenous and suppressed, but not civilized by the Germans¹⁰. The focus on Slavic origins and autochthony in East Central Europe also inspired various other authors like Karol Emil Sienkowski and others¹¹. Here, however, a significant asymmetry occurs: Whereas German Eastern colonization was discussed in the framework of German regional history (*Provinzial- or Landesgeschichte*), Polish historiography did not focus so much on regions like Silesia, but on Polish medieval history, even if the sources referred to Silesia. Thus, one has to look at the historiographical interrelations before 1918 in a broader context: Among German historians the issues of the overlap were debated within regional history, while among Polish historians these issues were part of national history in general. The Slavic historical perspective then was accompanied by an ethnographical perspective developed by Aleksandr F. Gil'ferding in his focus on the Slavic «rests» on the southern Baltic rim, where he focused on Kashubian place names, language and customs¹². German and Polish scholars like Franz Tetzner and Friedrich Lorentz then followed this regional path.

Although the aggressive notion of German expansion was once again and forcefully expressed by Heinrich von Treitschke in his influential text on the land of the Teutonic Order¹³, German debates shifted to the argument of peaceful processes of acculturation, however, the remained confined to the perspective of the Germanisation of East Central Europe as result of the process. In an influential article Wilhelm Wattenbach argued that the colonisation expanded the territory of the German nation and was carried out by the whole nation¹⁴. Progress in research methods in the last decades of the 19th century did not change the

1849–1990. Bern; Berlin, 1996; Wschodnia ekspansja Niemiec w Europie środkowej. Zbiór studiów nad tzw. niemieckim «Drang nach Osten» / Ed. by G. Labuda. Poznań, 1963 (Studium niemieckoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego. Vol. 5).

⁹ Szulc D. 1) O znaczeniu Prus dawnych. Warszawa, 1846. P. 2; cf. 2) O Pomorzu Zaodrzańskim. Warszawa, 1850.

¹⁰ Kętrzyński W. O narodowości polskiej w Prusiech Zachodnich za czasów Krzyżackich. Studium historyczno-etnograficzne // Pamiętnik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, Wydział Filologiczny i Historyczno-Filozoficzny. 1874. Vol. 1. P. 117–221; cf. Hackmann J. Ostpreußen und Westpreußen in deutscher und polnischer Sicht. Landeshistorie als beziehungsgeschichtliches Problem. Wiesbaden, 1996 (Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien. Vol. 3). P. 138–150.

¹¹ Sienkowski K. E. Pogląd na dzieje Słowian zachodnio-północnych między Labą (Elbą) a granicami dawnej Polski od czasu wystąpienia ich na widownię dziejową aż do utraty politycznego bytu i znamion narodowych. Gniezno, 1881.

¹² Гильфердинг А. Ф. Остатки Славян на южном берегу Балтийского моря. СПб., 1862.

¹³ Treitschke H. v. Das Deutsche Ordensland Preußen // Preußische Jahrbücher. 1862. Vol. 10. P. 95–151.

¹⁴ Wattenbach W. Die Germanisirung der östlichen Grenzmarken des deutschen Reichs // Histo-

interpretation, as the work of August Meitzen and Rudolf Köttschke shows. They developed a new program of comparative settlement research including geography, ethnography etc.¹⁵ Although Slavic settlement structures received new attention within this new research design, the Germano-centric interpretational framework remained unchanged. Meitzen claimed that the Germans took a «Sonderstellung» in the history of mankind due to the colonisation, and Gustav Schmoller saw it as the greatest deed of a people¹⁶. Hardly any German publication, except of Hans Witte's publication on Mecklenburg¹⁷, addressed the issue of Slavic population in the *Germania Slavica*.

After 1918, the key issue of German and Polish national historiography on the territorial overlap was to claim the contested borderlands to be integral parts of their own — German or Polish — national history and, hence, of their own nation state. The discussions on the territorial shape of Germany and Poland at Versailles brought geographers and historians in crucial positions¹⁸ to provide arguments referring to historical and cultural rights either to reject the status quo or to support its defence. In both national research environments, special branches with their own institutions emerged that focused on the political orientation of history writing on the overlapping territories: in Germany *Deutsche Ostforschung*, and *polska myśl zachodnia* in Poland.

Apart from politicisation, interregional and interdisciplinary co-operation among German scholars was a characteristic of the *Ostforschung*¹⁹. Its prevailing methodological concept was closely connected to the new paradigm of *Volksgeschichte*. The research of *deutscher Volks- und Kulturboden*, a term launched by the geographer Albrecht Penck²⁰, became the basic

rische Zeitschrift. 1863. Vol. 9. No. 2. P. 386–417.

¹⁵ Meitzen A. Die Ausbreitung der Deutschen in Deutschland und ihre Besiedelung der Slawengebiete // *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*. 1879. Vol. 32. P. 1–59; Köttschke R. Über Aufgaben vergleichender Siedelungsgeschichte der deutschen Volksstämme // *Studium Lipsiense*. Ehrengabe Karl Lamprecht, dargebracht aus Anlass der Eröffnung des Königlich Sächsischen Instituts für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte der Universität Leipzig. Berlin, 1909. P. 23–54.

¹⁶ Meitzen A. Die Ausbreitung... P. 1; Schmoller G. Die preußische Kolonisation des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts // *Zur inneren Kolonisation in Deutschland. Erfahrungen und Vorschläge* / Ed. by Verein für Socialpolitik. Leipzig, 1886. P. 1–43; here P. 2.

¹⁷ Witte H. Wendische Bevölkerungsreste in Mecklenburg. Stuttgart, 1905.

¹⁸ On geography see: Herb G. H. Under the Map of Germany. Nationalism and Propaganda 1918–1945. London, 1997; Briesewitz G. Raum und Nation in der polnischen Westforschung 1918–1948. Wissenschaftsdiskurse, Raumdeutungen und geopolitische Visionen im Kontext der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungsgeschichte. Osnabrück, 2014. On history see the following footnotes.

¹⁹ Mühle E. «Ostforschung». Beobachtungen zu Aufstieg und Niedergang eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas // *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung*. 1997. Vol. 46. No. 3. P. 317–350; Fahlbusch M. Wissenschaft im Dienst der nationalsozialistischen Politik? Die «Volksdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaften» von 1931–1945. Baden-Baden, 1999; Hackmann J. «Deutsche Ostforschung» und Geschichtswissenschaft // «Deutsche Ostforschung» und «polnische Westforschung» im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik. Disziplinen im Vergleich / Ed. by J. M. Piskorski, J. Hackmann and R. Jaworski. Osnabrück; Poznań, 2002 (Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung. Vol. 1). P. 26–45.

²⁰ Penck A. Deutscher Volks- und Kulturboden // *Volk unter Völkern* / Ed. by K. Christian von Loesch. Breslau, 1925 (Bücher des Deutschtums. Vol. 1). P. 62–73.

conception of the *Ostforschung*, in particular with regard to those territories of the German Reich that had been ceded to Poland. This notion implied a focus solely on German groups, on German cultural achievements, and on the impact of the German people on Eastern Europe in general. The increasing research on Slavic history in Eastern Germany did not change the image, but followed the Germano-centric path laid out before 1914. Kötzsche pursued the political and scientific notion of *Volks- und Kulturboden* and claimed that «one has to strive for the exactest investigation of the dissemination of German and Slavic settlers during the course of history, in order to [...] reveal the historical roots of the German right to the Heimat in the East» («deutsches Heimatrecht im Osten»)²¹. Hermann Aubin's programmatic text on the «German Eastern movement» followed the same political intention²².

At the same time, the *Ostforschung* met with an emerging Polish and Czech historiography. Similar to its German counterpart, the Polish notion of *myśl zachodnia*²³ did not consist only of historiography, but comprised archaeology, linguistics, sociology among others. The dominating historiographical intention was to «uncover the Polishness» of the *Germania Slavica*²⁴. German-Polish controversies resulted in a general politicisation of the topic. Battlefields of historical topics were, first, issues of Germanic vs. Slavic autochthony in the region, which involved in particular archaeologists. Both historiographies referred to an ethnic interpretation of pre-history and claimed their social units to be either pre-German or pre-Polish and, thus, the first possessors of those areas²⁵. A second issue was a new view on medieval colonisation, where Polish historians like Teodor Tyc started to distinguish between legal patterns of German law and the ethnicity of the immigrating settlers²⁶. The focus on legal, as well as

²¹ Kötzsche R. Die deutsche Wiederbesiedelung der ostelbischen Lande // Der ostdeutsche Volksboden. Aufsätze zu den Fragen des Ostens / Ed. by W. Volz. Breslau, 1926. P. 152–179.

²² Aubin H. 1) Zur Erforschung der deutschen Ostbewegung. Leipzig, 1939 (Deutsche Schriften zur Landes- und Volksforschung. Vol. 2); cf. 2) Das Gesamtbild der mittelalterlichen deutschen Ostsiedlung // Deutsche Ostforschung. Ergebnisse und Aufgaben seit dem ersten Weltkrieg / Ed. by H. Aubin et al. Leipzig, 1942 (Deutschland und der Osten. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen. Vol. 20). P. 331–361.

²³ Piskorski J. M. Volksgeschichte à la polonaise. Vom Polonozentrismus im Rahmen der sogenannten polnischen Westforschung // Volksgeschichten im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit / Ed. by M. Hettling. Göttingen, 2003. P. 239–271; Hackmann J. Strukturen und Institutionen der polnischen Westforschung (1918–1960) // Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung. 2001. Vol. 50. P. 230–255; Strauchold G. Der Westgedanke in der polnischen Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945 // Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik: Disziplinen im Vergleich // Osnabrück, Poznań, 2002. P. 47–80.

²⁴ Mańkowski A. O zadaniach historiografii pomorskiej // Pamiętnik IV powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Poznaniu 6–8 grudnia 1925 r. Lwów, 1925 [n. pag.].

²⁵ For details see: Hackmann J. Preußische Ursprungsmythen. Entstehung und Transformationen vom 15. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert // Preußen in Ostmitteleuropa. Geschehensgeschichte und Verstehensgeschichte / Ed. by M. Weber. München, 2003 (Schriften des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa. Vol. 21). P. 143–171.

²⁶ Tyc T. Z średniowiecznych dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza. Wybór prac. Poznań, 1997 (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wznowienia. Vol. 3); cf. Piskorski J. M. Bogata twórczość krótkiego życia. Zamiast posłowie // Tyc T. Z średniowiecznych dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza. Poznań, 1997. P. 305–332.

economic and political history also explains, why the majority of historians of *myśl zachodnia* followed a more traditional concept of political and cultural history in the sense that they did not try to introduce a Polish version of *Völksgeschichte*. More relevant was the geohistorical notion developed by Zygmunt Wojciechowski, that the territory of 10th century Piast Poland provided the geopolitical framework («Polish motherlands» — *ziemie macierzyste Polski*) for contemporary Poland²⁷.

Many publications on the German and Polish side emerged in close connection with the intention to reject or falsify the other's position. This could also imply to revise one's own position for political reasons, as Witte for instance did with regard his earlier writings about the remaining Slavs²⁸. In a polemic with Dmitrij Egorov, he argued that it was of essential political importance to show that the region was Germanized not only in the 17th century, as this could further underpin the theory of Slavic autochthony in Eastern Germany. Diverging positions that avoided such politicization were rare, among them was the Heinrich Felix Schmid, who as one of the first in German historiography demanded research on the Slavic period with a clear separation from the period of colonisation²⁹. This postulate was taken up among German scholars only after the Second World War.

The situation after 1945 was now fully different, as the inclusion of the former Prussian provinces east of Oder and Neiße into the People's Republic of Poland put them into the centre of Polish research. The research strategies followed those outlined before, but were broadened and intensified. Among the most influential historians was Gerard Labuda, who first took up Wojciechowski's concept of the «motherlands» and enlarged it through the notion of «Great Pomerania» (*Wielkie Pomorze*) comprising the territories from Szczecin to Olsztyn, i. e. Poland's Baltic rim according to the new borders³⁰. The new research centres in Szczecin, Gdańsk and Olsztyn made many efforts to follow this notion and to prove the Polishness of their territories. Moreover, research on West Slavic history and the beginnings of Poland intensified and led to many multi-volume publications. Labuda's notion, however, was not confined by a nationalistic approach, but within the framework of Marxist historiography ethnic or national features were pushed back, although not all Polish historians agreed with

²⁷ *Wojciechowski Z.* Rozwój terytorialny Prus w stosunku do ziem macierzystych Polski. Toruń, 1933; cf. *Krzoska M.* Für ein Polen an Oder und Ostsee. Zygmunt Wojciechowski (1900–1955) als Historiker und Publizist. Osnabrück, 2003 (Einzelveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau. Vol. 8).

²⁸ *Егоров Д. Н.* Славяно-германские отношения в середине века: Колонизация Мекленбурга в XII в. Т. 1–2. М., 1915. This book was translated into German in 1930 and commented by *Witte H.* Jegorovs Kolonisation Mecklenburgs im 13. Jahrhundert. Ein kritisches Nachwort. Breslau, 1932; cf. *Piskorski J. M.* Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters in der Entwicklung des östlichen Mitteleuropa. Zum Stand der Forschung aus polnischer Sicht // *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*. 1991. Vol. 40. P. 27–84; here P. 27.

²⁹ *Schmid H. F.* Die slavische Altertumskunde und die Erforschung der Kolonisation des deutschen Nordostens // *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*. Vol. 1–2. 1924–1925. Vol. 1. P. 396–415; Vol. 2. P. 134–180; here Vol. 1. P. 397, 400.

³⁰ For details see: *Hackmann J.* Im Prisma kaschubischer Geschichte: Gerard Labuda und die Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen // *Inter Finitimos*. 2009. Vol. 7. P. 65–83.

that. Furthermore, Polish historiography started a critical revision of German research on the territorial overlap³¹, which then paved the way for new cooperation.

The asymmetry had clearly turned around. Now the Polish historiography on the *Germania Slavica* was much more productive in terms of quantity and quality, whereas German historiography to a large extent followed the paths of pre-war narratives. This situation becomes obvious with a look at the publication of syntheses of the regions' history: In Poland voluminous histories of Pomerania, Silesia as well as on Warmia and Mazury (the Polish term for East Prussia) were published³², while in West-Germany historiography on the former German East faced stagnation for long decades. In addition, post-war publications in West Germany still repeated the vocabulary of *Volksgeschichte*: The «formation of an enclosed Volksboden» and «the practical success for the own Volk», for Walther Kuhn remained central categories of the Eastern Colonization³³.

Historical research in the GDR on the *Germania Slavica* started with attempts to unmask and deconstruct of the «imperialistic Ostforschung», a task which was taken over from Soviet historians³⁴. Besides, a new focus on Slavic history was developed with a different view on the colonisation as «medieval German Eastern expansion», which in a Herderian approach was said to have interrupted the formation of Slavic nations and finally led to capitalism in the region³⁵. The major contribution of historical research in the GDR was the publication on «The Slavs in Germany», which dealt with the history and culture of the Slavic groups «west of Oder and Neisse», i. e. on its own territory³⁶. This work can thus be understood as an adaptation to the perspective of Slavic socialist neighbours. The book ended with the «feudal German eastern expansion of the 12th/13th centuries», and thus before the emerging of German-Slavic cohabitation.

This approach, however, met also with developments in Western Germany, where a «careful revision» of the traditions of *Ostforschung* was initiated by Walter Schlesinger³⁷.

³¹ Labuda G. 1) Stare i nowe tendencje w historiografii zachodnioniemieckiej // Przegląd Zachodni. 1956. Vol. 12. No. 7/8. P. 224–252; 2) Rewizja dziejów Prus — osiągnięcia i plany badań // Węzłowe problemy dziejów Prus XVII–XX wieku: Materiały z sesji naukowej UAM (11 i 12 VI 1970) / Ed. by G. Labuda. Poznań, 1971 (Historia. Vol. 48). P. 5–21.

³² Historia Pomorza / Ed. by G. Labuda. Poznań; Toruń, 1972–2015; Historia Gdańska / Ed. by C. E. Gdańsk; Sopot, 1978–1998; Historia Śląska. Opracowanie zbiorowe / Ed. by Instytut Historii PAN. Wrocław, 1960–1985.

³³ Kuhn W. Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung in der Neuzeit. Köln, 1955–1957. Vol. 1. P. ix.

³⁴ Spiru B. Ostforscher, Ostfälscher, Ostfahrer // Jahrbuch für Geschichte der UdSSR und der volksdemokratischen Länder Europas. 1959. Vol. 3. P. 34–79; Goguel R. Über die Mitwirkung deutscher Wissenschaftler am Okkupationsregime in Polen im zweiten Weltkrieg. Untersucht an drei Institutionen der deutschen Ostforschung. Berlin (Ost), 1964.

³⁵ Hagemann I. Die mittelalterliche deutsche Ostexpansion und die Adenauersche Außenpolitik // Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 1958. Vol. 6. P. 797–815.

³⁶ Die Slawen in Deutschland: Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neisse vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert: ein Handbuch / Ed. by J. Herrmann. Berlin, 1970 (2nd ed. — 1985) (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Vol. 14).

³⁷ Schlesinger W. 1) Die geschichtliche Stellung der mittelalterlichen deutschen Ostbewegung // Historische Zeitschrift. 1957. Vol. 183. P. 517–542; 2) Die mittelalterliche deutsche

This resulted in a shift of the focus to the position of Schmid, addressed above. Now, the connections between indigenous Slavic groups and the German immigrants were underlined in Schlesinger's term of German *Neustämme*. For this new perspective Wolfgang H. Fritze introduced the notion of *Germania Slavica*, in order to highlight the mutual German-Slavic interrelations³⁸. Results of this approach materialised as an interdisciplinary approach with first a focus on the multi-ethnic elements of medieval colonisation, second a broadening of the perspective to a structural concept of condensation and expansion in a European context³⁹, and finally a close cooperation with Polish and Czech scholars⁴⁰. Constructive scholarly contacts were not least due to earlier changes among Polish historians, where a trend towards de-ideologization appeared after the end of Stalinism. Furthermore, a new approach towards regional history of the former German territories was developed, which included Slavic or Polish as well as German historical aspects.

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At this point the attention shall be directed to the notion of *Slavia Germanica*. Although the material basis for such a turn of perspective was provided by the forced migration and resettlement of the German population of East Central Europe since 1939 and the immigration of a new, mostly Slavic population, there is no doubt that ethnic changes also appeared in earlier periods. Thus, it seems to be appropriate to apply a broader perspective of non-linear processes of ethnic changes, which varied in intensity and direction. Such an understanding can already been found in the Polish approaches towards the regional history of the German-Polish overlap. In his outlines of the «Historia Pomorza», Gerard Labuda stated that it comprises the history of all people living in this region⁴¹. Although this statement sounds rather simple, such a rejection of ethnic boundaries was, as outlined above, in contradiction with Polish and German historiographical traditions, which so far tended to apply one or another national perspective.

Apart from this inclusive understanding of regional history, which can now be seen in other parts of East Central Europe as well, there is a second aspect, which underlines the notion of

Ostbewegung und die deutsche Ostforschung // Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung. 1997. Vol. 46. P. 427–457; cf. Hackmann J., Lübke C. Die mittelalterliche Ostsiedlung... P. 211–215.

³⁸ Fritze W. H. *Germania Slavica*. Zielsetzung und Arbeitsprogramm einer interdisziplinären Arbeitsgruppe // *Germania Slavica* / Ed. by W. H. Fritze. Berlin, 1980. Vol. 1. P. 11–40; Struktur und Wandel im Früh- und Hochmittelalter. Eine Bestandsaufnahme aktueller Forschungen zur *Germania Slavica* / Ed. by C. Lübke. Stuttgart, 1998 (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropas. Vol. 5).

³⁹ Conze W. *Ostmitteleuropa. Von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. München, 1992. P. 58–104; Piskorski J. M. *Kolonizacja wiejska Pomorza Zachodniego w XIII i w początkach XIV wieku na tle procesów osadniczych w średniowiecznej Europie*. Poznań: PTPN, 1990 (PTPN, Wydział historii i nauk społecznych, Prace Komisji historycznej. Vol. 41).

⁴⁰ As an example see: Piskorski J. M. Herbert Ludat (1910–1993) — historyk Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej i stosunków polsko-niemieckich // Ludat H. *Słowianie — Niemcy — Europa* / Ed. by J. M. Piskorski. Marburg; Poznań, 2000. P. 325–354.

⁴¹ This notion formed the basis of the synthesis «Historia Pomorza»; see also: Labuda G. *O założeniach programowych syntezy «Historia Pomorza»* // *Zapiski Historyczne*. 2002. Vol. 67. No. 3–4. P. 177–196.

Slavia Germanica: If those regions are no longer shaped by multi-ethnicity as a result of the devastations of the Second World War, multi-culturality, however, remains a historical issue. Similar to the focus on the Slavic substratum of Eastern Germany, now in today's Western Poland the German substratum has come in sight.

Multi-culturality after the medieval colonisation was first discussed with regard Danzig and both parts of Prussia in the early modern period, where the regional elites despite ethnic and confessional differences acted as loyal subjects of the *Rzeczpospolita*. As a second field 19th and early 20th century history emerged. Whereas its beginnings could be seen with regard to the regions of Warmia and Mazury or Kashubia as a prolongation of *Germania Slavica* with a focus on Slavic regional societies, things changed with the issue of the appropriation of German cultural heritage. Initially this was a highly politicized field, which appeared in the immediate aftermath of the war with discussions about the reconstruction of the historic city centre of Gdańsk. The decisive argument was that the contemporary inhabitants are heirs not only of Polish culture, but of a multi-cultural legacy. The preservation of architectural monuments all over the *Slavia Germanica* required practical decisions and stimulated debates.

These issues, however, did not remain limited to experts' debates and decisions, but turned political in the 1980s. The background has to be seen in discourses about the expulsion and resettlement of the German population and in the official legitimization of the taking-over of these regions by Poland as «regained territories» (*ziemie odzyskane*). Jan Józef Lipski, one of the most eminent figures of the Polish opposition since the 1970s, in his essays focussed on xenophobia and accused the ruling elites that they used the anti-German card in order to demand loyalty, which they could not gain on other fields⁴². Taking care of the non-Polish legacies of the Northern and Western territories could thus be seen as a sign of disobedience and became an element of building a non-socialist Polish identity. These ideas were then taken up by societies as the Polish cultural association «Borussia» in the former East Prussia in 1990, which launched the most successful initiative to foster a post-nationalist regional historical culture, comprising the multi-cultural legacy of the region with a focus on cultural heritage and collective memory⁴³.

Since then, various similar approaches can be noticed all over the former German territories⁴⁴, although with different forms and scales of intensity. In Pomerania, the society «Terra Incognita» could be mentioned, and in Szczecin initiatives like «Sedina» published materials about the pre-war history of the city. In Poznań, the Imperial Castle, a monumental historicist building designed as an expression of German dominion before the First World War, is now

⁴² Lipski J. J. Depozyt. Niemieckie dziedzictwo kulturowe w Polsce // Lipski J. J. Powiedzieć sobie wszystko... : Eseje o sąsiedztwie polsko-niemieckim. Wir müssen uns alles sagen... : Essays zur deutsch-polnischen Nachbarschaft / Ed. by G. Ziegler. Warszawa, 1998. P. 104–106.

⁴³ This is more a matter of essays, workshops, exhibitions, but not yet of historiography, see the journal: Borussia. Kultura, literatura, historia. Olsztyn, 1991–2017; and Traba R. Regionalismus in Polen: Die Quellen des Phänomens und sein neues Gesicht nach 1989 // Regionale Bewegungen und Regionalismen in europäischen Zwischenräumen seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts / Ed. by P. Ther, H. Sundhaussen and I. Kruse. Marburg, 2003 (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung. Vol. 18). P. 275–283.

⁴⁴ Cf. also the Czech discussion after 1989: Zmizelé Sudety. Das verschwundene Sudetenland / Ed. by Antikomplex. 6th ed. Domažlice, 2015.

seen as symbol of the German-Polish past of the city⁴⁵. More examples of conservation and appropriation of material culture could be mentioned, but more important is to point at the underlying re-evaluation of the (material) cultural heritage, which is no longer divided into «own» and «alien» history according to ethnic or social lines⁴⁶. Meanwhile, an impressive amount of local studies has been published, from Wrocław⁴⁷ via Wielkopolska⁴⁸, Szczecin⁴⁹ and Gdańsk⁵⁰ to the former East Prussia⁵¹, but so far, a comprehensive overview of these processes of fencing-off and appropriation is lacking.

Two more fields of *Slavia Germanica* may be mentioned. The first refers to the expulsion and resettlement of the German population after the Second World War. As this was a hot political issue before 1989, joint source documentations played an important role in stimulating historical research⁵². Since then, various studies have addressed inter-ethnic contacts in the post-war era and in memory cultures connected to the resettlement processes. The second aspect is related to the history of Upper Silesia, where German-Polish interactions are not limited to issues of a German substratum, but focus on mutual processes of nation- and region-building in the region since the 19th century⁵³.

⁴⁵ Pazder J., Zimmermann E., Streidt G. Kaiserschloss Posen. Von der «Zwingburg im Osten» zum Kulturzentrum «Zamek». Zamek Cesarski w Poznaniu. Od pruskiej «warowni na wschodzie» do Centrum Kultury «Zamek». Potsdam; Poznań, 2003.

⁴⁶ Wspólne dziedzictwo? Ze studiów nad stosunkiem do spuścizny kulturowej na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych / Ed. by Z. Mazur. Poznań, 2000 (Ziemie zachodnie. Vol. 22).

⁴⁷ Thum G. Die fremde Stadt. Breslau 1945. Berlin, 2003.

⁴⁸ Serrier T. Provinz Posen, Ostmark, Wielkopolska. Eine Grenzregion zwischen Deutschen und Polen. 1848–1914. Marburg, 2005 (Materialien und Studien zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung. Vol. 12); Lorenz T. Von Birnbaum nach Międzychód. Bürgergesellschaft und Nationalitätenkampf in Großpolen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Berlin, 2005 (Frankfurter Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas. Vol. 10); Dyroff S. Erinnerungskultur im deutsch-polnischen Kontaktbereich. Bromberg und der Nordosten der Provinz Posen (Wojewodschaft Poznań) 1871–1939. Osnabrück, 2007 (Einzerveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau. Vol. 19).

⁴⁹ Musekamp J. Zwischen Stettin und Szczecin: Metamorphosen einer Stadt von 1945 bis 2005. Wiesbaden, 2010 (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Polen-Instituts Darmstadt. Vol. 27).

⁵⁰ Loew P. O. Danzig und seine Vergangenheit 1793–1997. Die Geschichtskultur einer Stadt zwischen Deutschland und Polen. Osnabrück, 2003 (Einzerveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau. Vol. 9).

⁵¹ Traba R. «Wschodniopruskość». Tożsamość regionalna i narodowa w kulturze politycznej Niemiec. Poznań, 2005.

⁵² «Nasza ojczyzna stała się dla nas obcym państwem...». Niemcy w Polsce 1945–1950. Wybór dokumentów. In 4 vols. / Ed. by W. Borodziej, H. Lemberg. Warszawa, 2000–2001; Stettin / Szczecin 1945–1946. Dokumenty — Erinnerungen / Dokumenty — Wspomnienia / Ed. by Ostsee-Akademie, Lübeck-Travemünde, Historisches Institut der Universität Stettin. Rostock, 1994.

⁵³ Die Grenzen der Nationen: Identitätenwandel in Oberschlesien in der Neuzeit / Ed. by K. Struve, P. Ther. Marburg, 2002; Oberschlesien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Studien zu einem nationalen Konflikt und seiner Erinnerung / Ed. by K. Struve. Marburg, 2003 (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung. Vol. 19).

This brief sketch of research approaches during the last 25 years reveals that *Slavia Germanica* — or in the case of Poland — more precisely *Polonia Germanica* does not yet serve as an overarching marker of historical or cultural studies on the territorial overlap. Nevertheless, it may prove to be an appropriate description, when discussing its proximity to *Germania Slavica*.

CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing the outlines of the two notions, *Germania Slavica* and *Slavia Germanica* are shaped by some commonalities as well as different research perspectives. Among the common features is, first, the focus on a cultural (Slavic or German) substratum that influences later inhabitants of the region. Second, both notions deal with mutual inter-ethnic relations, and third there are significant processes of acculturation and appropriation, but also of separation. A fourth element can be noticed in the political dimension of historical research, similar to the claim of *histoire croisée*⁵⁴: When *Germania Slavica* was a response in particular to the Germano-centric historiography since the 19th century, the *Slavia Germanica* notion comprises historical perspectives that tend — though not always explicitly — to revise Polish and German nationalist notions on the German-Polish territorial overlap. In such a perspective, both approaches have contributed significantly to a post-conflict approach, which is influenced by the work of the Joint German-Polish Textbook Commission. In that respect, the political impact of both notions is definitely similar.

When talking about research methods, there is, of course, a major difference according to the epochs addressed. Whereas *Germania Slavica* refers to medieval history and includes archaeology and onomastics, *Slavia Germanica* first of all deals with modern history and refers apart from the analysis of archival sources to cultural studies in a broad sense. There is, however, also a nexus between both methodological approaches, as the latter partly includes a critical analysis of the historiography on *Germania Slavica*, which requires adequate methodological knowledge. Another difference may be seen in the fact that *Slavia Germanica* issues, as referring mostly to 20th century history, stimulate broader public debates, but this is only a gradual distinction, not a substantial one.

Whereas *Germania Slavica* is already for decades well established in German historical research and has a counterpart in Polish research on the Western Slavs, *Slavia Germanica* has not yet emerged as a coherent research label. The common focus on inter-cultural and inter-ethnic connections as well as the transnational interactions in historical research on the German-Slavic overlap, however, suggest that such a parallel notion could stimulate new research approaches.

Данные о статье

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Заголовок: From *Germania Slavica* to *Slavia Germanica*? (От *Germania Slavica* к *Slavia Germanica*?)

Резюме: В XIX в. в истории Центрально-Восточной Европы проявлялись антагонистические тенденции. Немецкие историки утверждали, что в регионе со времен Средневековья господствовала германская культурная и политическая гегемония. Славянские народы отстаивали свои позиции, ссылаясь на свое автохтонное происхождение и на гердерскую точку зрения о цивилизационной принадлежности этих территорий. Дискуссия между этими подходами продолжалась и после

⁵⁴ Werner M., Zimmermann B. Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity // History and Theory. 2006. Vol. 45. P. 30–50.

1945 г., несмотря на усовершенствование научных подходов и рост числа междисциплинарных исследований. Концепцией, которая изменила восприятие германо-славянских взаимодействий в Восточной Центральной Европе, была концепция *Germania Slavica* с упором на средневековую историю во время немецкой экспансии в Центрально-Восточной Европе. В статье рассматривается проблема, можно ли расширить исследования по истории Центрально-Восточной Европы так, чтобы понятие *Germania Slavica* сопровождалось понятием *Slavia Germanica*. Для этого необходимо изучать аспекты межнациональных взаимоотношений, соотношений этнокультурных субстратов, особенности миграции в середине XX в. применительно к социальным и культурным процессам в польском и чешском регионах в исторической ретроспективе.

Ключевые слова: Центрально-Восточная Европа, славянский мир, германский мир, культурное взаимодействие, миграция.

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Information about the article

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Title: From Germania Slavica to Slavia Germanica?

Summary: Since the 19th century, the history of East Central Europe was shaped by antagonistic perspectives. Whereas German historians claimed German cultural and political hegemony since the Middle Ages or even earlier, the Slavic nations referred to their autochthony and in a Herderian view to the civilization of these territories. Despite refined and interdisciplinary research methodologies referring to the German-Slavic territorial overlap, national perspectives prevailed even until the post-war era after 1945. Among those notions that changed the perception of the German-Slavic interactions in East Central Europe was the concept Germania Slavica with a focus on medieval history during the German expansion towards East Central Europe.

This paper discusses, whether the research on the history of East Central Europe with a focus on mutual relations, on ethno-cultural substrate and migration, and on transfer and adaptation can be expanded towards the mid-20th century. The notion of Germania Slavica would thus be accompanied by the concept of Slavia Germanica. Arguments in such a direction refer to the fundamental change of the social and cultural situation as German vs. Slavic cultural substrate and Slavic vs. German migration. Despite the obviously different political framework and the time gap of several centuries, one might argue that perspectives on interactions and adaptation are comparable and can on the basis of their respective methodologies contribute to a scholarly interpretation of social and cultural processes in Polish and Czech regions.

Keywords: East Central Europe, the Slavic world, Germanic world, cultural interaction, migration

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